

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 192534

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MANILA IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

TODEP 35, FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, MARR, RP

SUBJECT: YOUR TALKS IN MANILA

1. AS WE DISCUSSED BEFORE YOUR DEPARTURE, THE MOST IMPORTANT MESSAGE FOR YOU TO GET ACROSS TO MARCOS AND ROMULO IS OUR READINESS TO REACH A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY NEW BASE AGREEMENT AT AN EARLY DATE TO END ANY DOUBTS IN THE U.S., THE PHILIPPINES AND ELSEWHERE ABOUT THE STRENGTH AND FIRMNESS OF OUR BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.

2. YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THE FOLLOWING IN YOUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH MARCOS AND ROMULO:

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 192534

A. YOU SHOULD INDICATE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR PROBLEMS.

IN THAT CONTEXT, YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT WHEN PHILIPPINE SIDE REQUESTED REVISION, WE RESPONDED PROMPTLY AND POSITIVELY. AT SAME TIME, THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ARE OPPOSED TO MOVING TO NEW ARRANGEMENTS. CONSEQUENTLY, PROLONGATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, COUPLED WITH UNHELPFUL PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE PHILIPPINE SIDE (E.G., THE RECENT BARBERO STATEMENT AS REPORTED IN AP), WILL ONLY DEEPEN DOUBTS IN THE U.S. ABOUT LONGER-RANGE PHILIPPINE INTENTIONS AS AN ALLY, THUS RISKING EROSION OF SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE FOR A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT AND FOR AN ACCOMPANYING MULTI-YEAR AID COMMITMENT. WE BELIEVE IT IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST TO COMPLETE THE NEGOTIATIONS AS PROMPTLY AS POSSIBLE TO DEMONSTRATE THE STRENGTH AND LASTING QUALITY OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. DRAGGING OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL NOT HELP.

B. WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE TERMS OF OUR TWO PRESIDENTS' COMMUNIQUE LAST DECEMBER. AS WE HAVE SHOWN IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE BASES, BOTH IN FACT AND IN APPEARANCES. BUT THIS HAS TO BE DONE IN WAYS WHICH PERMIT U.S. FORCES TO CONDUCT OPERATIONS WITHOUT HINDRANCE. OTHERWISE, THEIR EFFECTIVENESS TO SUPPORT THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY WILL BE IMPAIRED.

C. WE HAVE NOTED GOP'S EXPRESSED CONCERNS ABOUT VALIDITY OF THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY IN TERMS GOP INTERESTS. HOWEVER, AS MARCOS AND ROMULO AWARE, BOTH PRESIDENT AND I HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSURED GOP OF THE FIRMNESS OF THE U.S. COMMITMENTS TO THE PHILIPPINES AND TO OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. GOP SHOULD BE IN NO DOUBT ON THAT SCORE.

D. AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN HAS GIVEN AMBASSADOR ROMUALDEZ (THE PHILIPPINE NEGOTIATOR) A LENGTHY AND DETAILED REPLY TO A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ON YOUR SIDE ABOUT OUR PERCEPTIONS OF POTENTIAL THREATS, AND OF OUR COMMITMENTS, IN THE AREA. OUR RESPONSES TO THESE QUESTIONS SHOW THAT OUR COMMITMENT IS TO THE PHILIPPINES AND NOT JUST TO OUR OWN FORCES OR FACILITIES THERE. IN THOSE RESPONSES WE NOTED SPECIFICALLY THAT THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY PROVIDES THAT AN ARMED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 192534

ATTACK IN THE PACIFIC AREA ON EITHER OF THE PARTIES WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO ITS PEACE AND SAFETY AND THAT BOTH PARTIES WOULD IN SUCH EVENT ACT TO MEET THE COMMON DANGER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES.

E. (IF RAISED BY MARCOS OR TOMULO) WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT USEFUL TO TRY TO ENVISAGE HOW THE TREATY WOULD BE APPLIED IN PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES SUCH AS ATTACK IN DISPUTED

AREAS (E.G., THE SPRATLYS). OUR REACTION IN SUCH A CASE WOULD DEPEND ENTIRELY ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES. AS AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN HAS TOLD YOUR NEGOTIATORS, OUR UNWILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT ANY DISPUTED CLAIMS IN THE SPRATLYS DOES NOT IN ANY WAY DIMINISH OR UNDERMINE YOUR CLAIMS. BUT NEITHER CAN WE INTERPRET THE TREATY AS AUTOMATICALLY SUPPORTING PHILIPPINE CLAIMS IN DISPUTED AREAS.

3. THERE IS NO NEED, AND INDEED IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE WISE FOR YOU TO ENGAGE IN ANY DISCUSSION OF DETAILS MORE APPROPRIATELY DISCUSSED BY THE NEGOTIATING TEAM. HOWEVER, I WILL WANT YOUR JUDGMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS, IN LIGHT OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH SULLIVAN, ABOUT THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE NO OBJECTIONS FOR EXAMPLE, TO A SHORT RECESS TO TAKE STOCK ON BOTH SIDES, RESUMING THEREAFTER, EITHER HERE OR IN MANILA, HOPEFULLY LEADING TO AN EARLY AND MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION. BUT IF THE GOP WANTS AN INDEFINITE DELAY IT WILL BE BY PHILIPPINE CHOICE NOT OURS.

4. WE DO NOT EXCLUDE INTRODUCING AN INITIAL FINANCIAL OFFER IN THE NEAR FUTURE, SAY BEFORE A RECESS (HUMMEL HAS COPIES OF THE CURRENT ACTION DOCUMENTS WITH HIM), ASSUMING EARLY PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL OF A FIGURE. HOWEVER, WE WILL NEED YOUR CAREFUL JUDGMENT ON THIS SCORE ON YOUR RETURN. WITHOUT SPECIFIC LATER INSTRUCTIONS, IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS YOU SHOULD NOT GO BEYOND MY STATEMENT TO ROMULO IN APRIL ON THIS ISSUE: NAMELY, THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER A MULTI-YEAR COMMITMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT. KISSINGER

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